

December 14, 1955

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NELSON ROCKEFELLER  
Special Assistant to the President

SUBJECT: Intelligence requirements in support of U.S. policy in Western Europe.

1. On December 2 at a press conference, and again on December 8 in Chicago before leaving for the NATO meeting in Paris, Secretary Dulles mentioned a "development in which the United States has a deep interest and which it is prepared to support if opportunity offers". This is the "European idea" - "unity on a more intimate basis among the continental European nations themselves"... "not primarily...military unification".

2. Support of the European idea has been American policy for some time, but since 1949 the United States was more concerned with the idea's military product than with its economic, political and cultural foundations. To the extent that we have interested ourselves in non-military features of European unification we have been mainly concerned with institutional manifestations such as the Coal and Steel Community. As a result the reporting which we receive from various agencies generally neglects some very fundamental aspects of the European movement.

3. Common institutions are more a manifestation of unity than a means of unification. In order to conduct an effective policy in support of Europe's integration, we must know more about the people's dispositions toward unity such as they are expressed not only by deeds in the field of common public institutions, but also by other deeds of governments, private organizations and individuals. Such a survey should cover many political action groups, intra-European economic exchanges and mutual assistance, tourism and finance, exchanges of students, mobility of labor, contacts among businessmen and businessmen's organizations, as well as among trade unions, the use of common textbooks, press coverage of European themes, manifestations of the Association of European Townships, etc. It is only by studying this wide range of developments that we can formulate specific courses of action which the U.S. Government can take in support of the European idea. As the Secretary said: "this movement must obtain its strength primarily from the peoples concerned". There is ground to believe that the U.S. Government effort will be more effective

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if it supports discreetly a wide range of popular initiative than if it promotes more ambitious institutional schemes which the evidence of American interest will deprive of their spontaneity.

4. We have here a problem where it is very difficult to distinguish between policy and intelligence, for only the formulation of a policy interest can elicit the type of information needed in support of that policy. I think, therefore, that we might have here a legitimate interest. The problem is to alert the intelligence community, especially in the field, to the requirements arising from the new emphasis placed by the Secretary of State on these matters. I would certainly appreciate an opportunity for discussing this problem with you and members of our staffs.

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